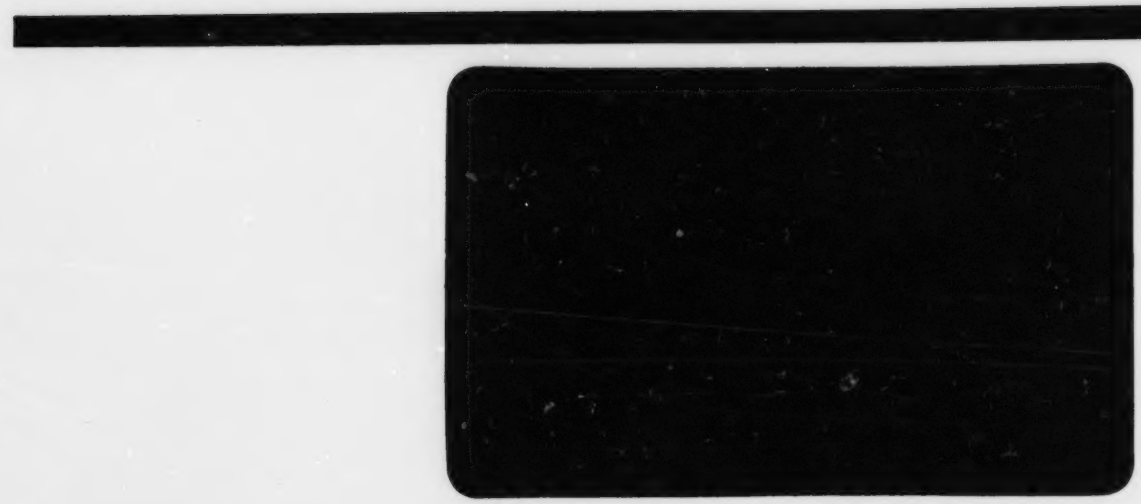

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Redefining Police-Community Relationships

By

Marcel-Eugène LeBeuf, Ph.D.

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To make any comments, please contact

The Research Centre
Canadian Police College
P.O. Box 8900
Ottawa, Ontario
K1G 3J2

Fax: (613) 990-9738
E-Mail: mlebeuf@cpc.gc.ca

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Ce rapport est aussi publié en français.

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SUMMARY

Goals and Objectives of this Research

This research is part of a process designed to assess collaborative actions between the police and the community. Our aim is to find out what difficulties are encountered by the police when trying to achieve concrete and direct relationships with communities.

Are the police willing to relinquish their role when confronted with problems that are outside their traditional mandate? In the future, will the police increasingly have to look to partners to solve problems that are not within the traditional definition provided by the Criminal Code or local by-laws and regulations?

Underlying these issues is the whole controversy concerning the information collected by the police during work and through relationships with members of the community. This suggests a basic question when considering a true partnership: Can the huge amount of information collected be used also for the benefit of partners? Otherwise, they will be perceived as mere providers of information and police informers in their area.

The police have always maintained informal relationships with some segments of the population. Now, they are trying to establish a new type of relationship through formal partnerships. The emergence of community policing has truly encouraged the establishment of these new relationships.

Community Policing

Community policing involves two broad management and operation strategies. The first has to do with community services. It consolidates a proactive approach based on persuasion instead of force and on expanding the police mandate to increase visibility. The second provides a collaborative approach. It is developed jointly by the police and the community and it seeks to establish communication networks between police officers and citizens, shopkeepers and community groups.

The community policing model reflects the active and consistent participation of the community when dealing with actions and behaviors that concern the public as much as the police. In other words, the police should no longer be considered as the sole stakeholder when it comes to maintaining order and preventing crime. Through this new approach, the police encourage and support community initiatives and

this new approach, the police encourage and support community initiatives and skills intended to provide attractive environments and protect the public against predators. This rationale is chiefly based on a new relationship between the police and neighbourhood residents aimed at protecting and constantly improving the private and public lives of citizens. Because of their knowledge and involvement in their neighbourhoods, citizens can potentially solve local problems and also support police actions.

This dynamic relationship between the police and the community does not relieve the police of their responsibilities with respect to knowledge, values and professional skills, neither does it prevent citizens from assuming their own responsibilities. Actually, the more the police know about the people they deal with the less threatened both law enforcement and the community feel. The success of this model depends on the ability of members to get to know the communities they operate in.

Community policing is truly at home in specific, all slightly different communities. Indeed, community policing is based on the participation of citizens through various professional, neighbourhood, special interest and other groups. It is extremely important to define what a community is in order to understand what is involved.

Community

Some authors have defined a community as a social group whose members reside in a specific area and share a sense of identification and belonging due to common cultural attitudes, life styles and social interactions. Communities reflect the social interactions of their members. From these interactions, relationships are formed no matter how many groups are part of the community.

Communities are defined first and foremost by their physical boundaries. Although self-evident, this assertion is still difficult to understand. Indeed, space is necessarily linked to social aspects, i.e. social relations, social values and support provided to the individual. It is widely recognized that natural or man-made boundaries, group isolation and population interdependency help create communities.

At the end of the twentieth century, group and individual activities are no longer restricted to specific areas. The complexities of life, work relations and qualification requirements are such that individuals are much less confined to specific areas than it would seem. The consequences of this are far-reaching on several levels.

The incredible expansion of mass media and telecommunications as well as fast-paced technological changes have opened up closed communities and made location irrelevant.

Communities now reflect various interests that are not necessarily mutually exclusive but require individuals to move among different groups. In other words, modern communities are fragmented. They comprise a variety of interests that only have in common the fact that individuals are linked to several of them at the same time.

Given the difficulty of defining a community, on account of the fact that it is made up of several interest groups, how can we expect the police to truly represent a community?

Ambiguous Police-Community Relationships

Community policing is a broad concept which provides for a whole set of approaches and solutions. However, the partnership so often emphasized and encouraged between the police and the community has the potential of producing significant ambiguities. Saying that the police can and will develop new relationships with the public based on a so-called partnership is one thing, achieving such a partnership is quite another.

In specific cases related to crime prevention, law enforcement has traditionally invited partners to participate in the development or, more often, the implementation of education programs on vandalism or theft.

Crime Prevention Programs

According to some, crime prevention programs were used before the emergence of community policing to create bonds between the police and the citizenry.

Crime prevention is a broad concept which was used to produce a wide range of reports. We divided these reports into two categories: generic and descriptive. Generic reports provide a broad picture of crime in a community. Based on specific factors, they describe a situation, they point to conditions that contribute to an increase in the fear of crime and they provide solutions suitable to the communities concerned. Generally, these reports reflect a recognition of the structural causes of crime and of the need to take appropriate action to fight criminal behavior. Depending on the situation, prevention initiatives are aimed at such factors as poverty, illiteracy, domestic violence, sexual violence, drug addiction, unemployment and sub-standard housing. Generic reports contain by definition a substantial amount of information which needs to be tailored to the country, region

or community involved.

Descriptive reports are used to find suitable solutions and provide specific corrective actions aimed at the sources and causes of crime. In other words, using situation-based prevention to toughen potential crime targets. Some of these programs usually complement police action. Programs that are broader in scope try to influence social, cultural and economic conditions. Targets are less specific and actions are more sweeping. The strategies provide for the implementation of various actions. Cooperation and partnerships are sought by those involved in crime prevention. In that regard, the police are not necessarily responsible for dealing with the causes of crime and social ills. Actions required to reduce crime are complex as they involve either parental responsibility or problems such as alcohol abuse, drug addiction, unemployment and illiteracy. These programs use a social prevention approach.

These reports are not designed to provide theoretical discussions on safety or to identify practical solutions from those advocated. The effects of prevention are easily confused with actions implemented for that purpose. Prevention literally means hindering crime so that its adverse effects will eventually decline. The phrase "crime reduction" would be more appropriate.

Players Involved

Stakeholders include town councils, aboriginal chiefs, governments, local provincial and national law enforcement, youth organizations, social planning councils, local health centres, women centres, senior citizen organizations, business associations and the education system. They provide services and temporary or almost permanent solutions aimed at broadly influencing those factors that affect crime directly or indirectly.

Interestingly, the police are not always involved as a partner in prevention initiatives. Prevention activities recognized by law enforcement include crime prevention units, school visits and community relations units.

We believe communities and citizens are already getting involved in dealing with their own problems. Direct police participation is not required or planned for in their strategies. Citizens are aggressively developing methods and programs that are no longer based solely on police involvement or enforcement actions.

Second observation: It is understood that the police will continue to play their assigned role. It would not be advisable for the police to get involved differently with these organizations and, as a result, start changing their procedures, approaches and operations in order to become a true partner. We can infer from this

that the police would be used when needed for targeted operations and not as a regular partner working with others on the development of prevention programs. The discussion on prevention has not changed police practices. The police continue to specialize in law enforcement. By respecting the limitations placed by the police on their own role, other stakeholders in the community have identified operational as well as program limitations.

Crime prevention is a perfect example of a program where the police are not required to play a dominant role. It also shows how the community can implement prevention programs that work, through various initiatives taken by an extremely diverse group of stakeholders..

Crime prevention, a police responsibility, has now been embraced by the whole community. Hence the need to establish a new relationship and to create a new commitment between stakeholders. Police involvement has been reduced and is not being requested as strongly as before. Crime prevention specialists within law enforcement are seen as experts to be called upon when needed. The police have been unable over the years to develop new ways of reaching out to the public. Crime prevention has become the concern of the whole community; active members from various fields take all kinds of initiatives in an attempt to control the factors that are seen as a threat to their environment and safety. The police are virtually excluded as a partner since the solutions contemplated to solve the problems do not require direct police involvement.

Police and Volunteers Managing Public Safety

One kind of partnership that has been growing in recent years is volunteerism. There are three different types of programs in this area: citizen volunteers, police volunteers, and auxiliary police, reserve or cadets. Citizen volunteers come from every level of society, they have different backgrounds and they volunteer their time for support activities aimed mainly but not exclusively at crime prevention. Police volunteers are law enforcement officers that are involved in social activities and sports after working hours. Finally, auxiliary police, reserve and cadets provide assistance to law enforcement and related activities without getting paid. These individuals hope to pursue a career in the police.

The Future of the Police and Volunteers

The rationale for the involvement of citizens at every level in various capacities includes at least three factors. The first one is economic. The public has been demanding that governments cut taxes and lower the cost of the police, although the same public wants to see greater efficiency in the public service, including the police. Law enforcement is faced with severe budget cuts as are other municipal

departments. Volunteers are thus seen as a source of low-cost resources.

The second factor is the human aspect. People are eager to help not only the police but also their neighbours and fellow citizens. They are the eyes and ears of the police.

Finally, the third factor is related to volunteers in law enforcement. Their presence makes a difference in terms of public relations. As a result, the police are more approachable, more humane and more capable of responding to the demands of the community to control crime and reduce the fear of crime.

The introduction of volunteers is a real breakthrough. The institution is showing that it can work with dedicated citizens and it can use the expertise of individuals willing to cooperate with the police.

These individuals assume responsibilities that are consistent with their abilities and social expertise. They act as intermediaries between the community and the police. They are catalysts for often unexpressed frustration towards law enforcement and they also act as motivating agents. On another level, they perform clerical and contact work that is considered essential, although it is not perceived or seen as such by the police.

The gradual involvement of citizens in support actions for the benefit of fellow citizens and the police raises three specific questions.

The first has to do with the practical aspects of programs. Some programs can be implemented more easily because of their objectives, i.e. victim assistance, engraving, etc. This type of program can be developed without referring to legal or administrative manuals. However, these manuals are needed for mobile patrols or auxiliary police to ensure operational efficiency.

The second is related to social conditions that give rise to concerns and contribute to the emergence of community organizations. Communities that are relatively affluent, cohesive and well educated provide more opportunities for participation. Underprivileged communities have less opportunities in that regard as individuals distrust the police more and are less inclined to cooperate.

Finally, the third question has to do with the implications of citizen participation. Direct involvement gives the community the sense that it controls its own environment. However, laws cannot be enforced or be perceived to be enforced by citizens. There is a danger that citizen involvement can go too far and become improper.

New Partnerships, New Challenges

In the area of public safety, police departments tend to work in isolation and to remain oblivious to scrutiny and comments by citizens. They have always been widely recognized as being almost the sole experts in the field, except for a few researchers working on this topic.

It is well known that police officers generally do not live in the area where they work. It is also common knowledge that they try as much as possible to conduct their social activities away from these areas. In fact, police officers remain cut off from the communities where they operate and are generally unaware of the unique characteristics of these neighbourhoods.

How do the police use lay knowledge from citizens about their environment and their lives in general? Potential partnerships open the door to a wide range of possibilities in this regard. Even now, the police continue to view themselves and be perceived as the sole expert in public safety. Partnerships of various types can be used to develop and implement comprehensive and coordinated strategies to deal with crime.

Partnerships are supported by at least two motivating factors. The first one is that although the police are fully capable of maintaining a specific level of public safety, active participation by citizens can help prevent disorders and crime. The second has to do with government actions designed to increasingly make service delivery responsive to the needs of the public. By reaching out to the community, law enforcement will become more knowledgeable about it and, as a result, will be better able to respond to the concerns expressed by various groups.

What is Meant by Partnership

A partnership is any action designed to create lasting working relations.

The police have come to realize that they can no longer deal with social problems alone. Some police officers go as far as saying: "We have no choice. We need partners." Achieving partnerships between the police and the community is a long term endeavour. Their goals and objectives must be clearly defined.

Partnerships raise two broad questions: Are police departments willing to remain involved through the entire problem solving process, especially if the solutions do not fall under their responsibility? Are the police willing to bring problems out in the open, thus generating reactions from elected officials and the media?

Achieving a Partnership

How should power distribution be managed when the different partners do not have the same social status or the same influence to advance their positions. The role of each partner should be clearly defined in order to understand their mandate and consult them seriously. Each partner is duty bound to carry out his or her mandate. Finally, an action plan should be developed to implement the solutions.

Conditions for a Successful Partnership

Partners must feel directly involved not only in the identification of the problems, but also in the implementation of acceptable solutions. The police must share leadership responsibilities and rewards for any success achieved. Indeed, partners must learn to share each other's cultures and expertise in order to promote trust among them. Leadership sharing is wanted by all partners as a sign of a true partnership. Partnerships are difficult for all those involved. They are even more difficult for the police.

Several reasons have been identified, four of which appear to be significant. Historically, police departments have not been accustomed to work in cooperation with citizens and other organizations. The second reason is the traditional reluctance of the police to deal with anything not directly connected to crime and social order. The third is related to jurisdictional requirements. Although professional and individual jurisdictions are readily recognized in police-community relationships, maintaining these relationships remains difficult. The police and the other partners have to go through a mutual education process with regard to their respective organizational cultures and any issues considered to be priorities.

A fourth reason is more structural in nature. Some partners go as far as saying that the type of commitment required by partnerships cannot be carried out by every police officer. This is critical because it brings into question the viability of the process itself and also because police departments would be required to divide police officers in two categories: those capable of entering into partnerships with citizens and those used for traditional law enforcement duties.

Identifying individuals well suited for community relations seems less important at this stage than ensuring that police officers are capable of responding to requests from citizens, community organizations and large social institutions through a local approach.

Expected Benefits

One major benefit for all involved is undeniably the greater availability of information through increased knowledge about the community and its resources. Improved communications appears to be the direct result of this first benefit. It is essential that partners share information. In addition, partnerships give police departments the opportunity to meet new partners and also partners they would have been reluctant to associate with, and vice versa.

On a level more closely related to the police, it appears that partnerships require from police officers a greater degree of independence in decision making and more latitude to manage the time spent on prevention and problem solving.

Police Limitations Within Partnerships

Limitations raise questions about the role of the police. It can be said that the role of the police within partnerships is defined by the level of safety in the community. These limitations also reflect the involvement of other partners, i.e. social, educational, health and community services. Partnerships help keep communities safe.

In short, partnerships in the broadest sense of the word can include representatives from the justice system, health and social services, elected officials, shopkeepers, public, community and government organizations, volunteer organizations, churches and any other group with a stake in a specific community. Partnerships vary based on the number of partners, types of commitments and objectives to be achieved. The level of cooperation between partners is considered a key to the success of the partnership. The mandate of the partnership could be defined by the following question: Can the partnership group develop and implement an action plan aimed directly at the problem?

From a police standpoint, creating and using partnerships is a reflection of how the institution is beginning to move away from its traditional role. This type of cooperation provides not only a means of defining the scope of police participation as a self-sufficient organization, but it also emphasises the importance of community resources to deal with crime and related social ills.

Redefining Public Safety

As an institution, the police must be prepared to challenge the definition of their own role. If they fail to do so, they run the risk of getting trapped in their traditional role of enforcer or, for small police departments all over the country, issuers of speeding tickets.

It should be noted that few police departments have started to seriously question

their roles and activities. Tradition, work habits, attitudes towards the public, training and culture all combine to make the police want to hold on to the status quo in the face of change. Nonetheless, the door is open to unavoidable changes that will affect the future of both the police and the public it serves.

Goals and Objectives of this Research

This research is part of a process designed to identify new police practices to be developed in the future. More specifically, we will look at collaborative actions between the police and the community which will likely be part of the daily lives of citizens in the near future.

The police are going through a transition period. Traditional methods are being partially combined with new approaches. Law enforcement (or some police departments) is trying to enter into partnerships with the community. This research will attempt to identify, understand and describe the transition the police are engaged in. We will look at the problems encountered by the police as they try to achieve real and direct cooperation with communities.

- How are police-community relationships formalized?
- What are the goals of a partnership?
- Who is the main player in the implementation?
- Who are the other players (community groups, public organizations, etc.)?

- How do the police define their own role?
- How is this role perceived by the other players?
- What actions are being initiated and with what results?
- How are police using the information obtained through their preferential relationships with citizens in order to become better educated about them?
- How can traditional police approaches be affected by these relationships? How should police training cover these new relationships with the community?
- Are police officers adequately prepared to assume their roles under such conditions?
- How would police management be affected if citizens were actually involved in the public safety management process?

These questions lead to a reassessment of the foundations of the institution, i.e. Are the police willing to relinquish their role when confronted with problems that are outside their traditional mandate? In the future, will the police increasingly have to look to partners to solve problems that are not within the traditional definition provided by the Criminal Code or local by-laws and regulations?

Underlying these issues, but highly important, is the whole controversy concerning the information collected by the police during work and through relationships with members of the community. It is well known that police officers collect a considerable amount of information on citizens through law enforcement work and public safety management practices. Also well known are the methods used to collate and disseminate this information within the organization (see Institute for Law and Justice, 1994; Maltz, Gordon, Friedman, 1990; Sherman, Gartin, Buerger, 1989). However, the efficient use and practical application of this information should be assessed in a situation where several police organizations get involved in community policing by

formally implementing the basic principles of a process still perceived today as a policing philosophy.

According to Mastrofski, an American policing specialist, obtaining accurate information through citizen involvement is no longer a challenge. In fact, to be fully successful, problem solving requires citizen participation to identify problems, recognize the circumstances that led to those problems, develop permanent solutions and assess their effectiveness. Other information sources are door to door surveys, community meetings and service call reviews. However, the use of this information raises serious questions. Mastrofski believes most police departments do not have the ability or expertise to adequately analyze collected information, nor the capacity to send it to policy makers in a timely fashion (Mastrofski, 1994). The technology is available to handle large amounts of information. What is missing is the willingness on the part of the police to use this information to perform thorough analyses needed to make decisions and also to ensure that handling is done more easily and in a reasonable amount of time. This suggests a basic question when considering a true partnership: Can the huge amount of information collected be used also for the benefit of the partners? Otherwise, they will be perceived as mere providers of information or police informers in their area.

The police have always maintained informal relationships with some segments of the population. Now, law enforcement is trying to establish a new type of relationship through formal partnerships. The emergence of community policing has truly encouraged the establishment of these new relationships.

Introduced in the early 1980s, mainly in the United States, the concept of community-based policing generated a lot of literature that focused not only on the meaning of this concept, but also on actions that resulted and on the

reassessment of traditional police methods. A wide range of researchers looked at its various meanings and many police departments attempted, each in their own way, to implement this concept in their environments.

Community policing began to emerge in the US as a result of an urban crisis brought about by governments pulling out of social programs at a time when community life was deteriorating. The famous phrase "broken windows" by Wilson and Kelling (1982), implying that a decaying environment slowly leads to crime, was used for several years to characterize neglected areas. The population was demanding new, effective and durable solutions.

Community Policing: Definition and Implications

Community policing entails two main management strategies and operational philosophies. The first has to do with community services (Mastrofski, 1988). It calls for a proactive approach based on persuasion instead of force and on a broadening of the police mandate through greater visibility, including foot patrols and easily-accessible neighbourhood stations. The second focuses on collective actions. Developed jointly by the police and the community, this strategy is based on communication networks linking the police, ordinary citizens, shopkeepers and community groups. It involves, for instance, community newsletters or contacts with victim organizations. We are particularly interested in this second strategy. Both strategies entail a decentralization of the decision making process at every level in the chain of command, especially at the constable level.

The community policing model symbolizes the active and consistent participation of citizens in dealing with actions and behaviours that are of concern to both the police and the community. In other words, the police

should no longer be the sole stakeholder when it comes to maintaining order and preventing crime. Through this new approach, the police encourage and support community initiatives and skills intended to create attractive environments and protect the public against predators (Kelling, 1988). This rationale is chiefly based on a new relationship between the police and residents of neighbourhoods aimed at ensuring that both the private and public lives of citizens can be protected and consistently improved (Kelling, Stewart, 1989). Because of their knowledge and involvement in their neighbourhoods, citizens can potentially solve local problems and support police actions (Kelling et al., 1988; Clarke, 1987).

Community policing also involves police organizational practices. Currently, it is well known that police departments are divided into working groups that seldom communicate with each other. Similarly, patrolmen initiate actions that are completed by inspectors, sometimes under conditions of excessive workloads, poor communications and incompatible work schedules. A reorganization of the working groups was understandably proposed to identify and resolve problems affecting various sectors of the community and police department units (Manning, 1989). Also, new responsibilities were identified, such as the establishment of communication networks with citizens. Finally, it is hoped that police officers will fully and completely carry out their responsibilities without constantly referring to administrative manuals or their supervisors

This dynamic relationship between the police and the community does not relieve the police of their responsibilities in terms of knowledge, values and professional skills; neither does it prevent citizens from assuming their own responsibilities. Actually, the more the police know about the people they deal with the less threatened both law enforcement and the community feel

(Pepinsky, 1989). The success of this model depends on the ability of members to get to know the communities they are operating in (Duncan, 1992).

Community policing is seen as an answer to three different problems facing the police: definition and extent of their role, determination of their discretionary powers, consolidation of their credibility (Mastrofski, 1988, Goldstein, 1986). According to Manning (1989), community policing is an ideological undertaking tinged with moral and political correctness, designed to foster egalitarian, intimate and non-controlling relationships with citizens. Its implementation will not only mean new ways of using laws and new standards to enforce them, but it will also require a reassessment of the organization's hierarchical structure, recruiting, training and promotion systems as well as the recognition of police actions. One aspect of its implementation has yet to be documented, i.e. the relationship between the police and the community.

Review

The advent of community policing opens the door to a crime prevention paradigm that is in relative opposition to the more traditional crime control paradigm. The latter has been the basic philosophy used in police departments and also for recruit training and continuing police education. The former is especially designed to facilitate constructive relationships between law enforcement and the community. It gives police officers more latitude by decentralizing the decision making process. Teams and team members are thus responsible for their successes and failures. Also, supervisors have more responsibility, which confirms their status within the organization.

Community Policing

- A broader definition of police work.
- Identification of priorities for fighting crime.
- Focus is on solving the problem instead of repeated actions.
- Recognition that the community plays a significant role in solving some problems.
- Implicit recognition that the police can be reorganized based on the requests and needs of the population they serve.
- Recognition that partnerships between law enforcement and the public can be established as requested by and based on the needs of the public.

Community policing is truly at home in specific, slightly different, communities. Indeed, community policing is based on the participation of citizens through various professional, neighbourhood, special interest and other groups. It is extremely important to define what a community is in order to understand what is involved.

A Community: A Geographical, Social or Interest-Based Unit?

Hillery (1955), who studied this topic extensively by compiling more than 94 definitions, suggests that the following definition be used as a basis for discussion: "A community consists of persons in social interaction with a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties" (P. 111). Other writers, including Schaefer and Lamm (1992), Farley (1994) quoted by Oliver (1998:216), have used their own words while keeping the essence of this definition. They have defined the community as a social group whose members reside in a specific area and share a sense of identification and

belonging due to common cultural attitudes, life styles and social interactions. Communities reflect the social interactions of their members. From these interactions, relationships are formed no matter how many groups are part of the community.

A major issue in our research is the following: Hillery states that communities are defined first and foremost by their physical boundaries. This self-evident assertion is nonetheless difficult to understand. Indeed, although the authors referred to by Hillery consider physical boundaries as the basic feature of a community, subsequently completed by common ties, likeness, standards, etc., space is necessarily linked to social aspects. Social aspects include social interactions, social values and social assistance, whereas space is used to describe villages or residential areas. The social aspect is seen as symbolizing the primary group; space implies a normalized value (Greer, 1972). It is recognized that natural or man-made boundaries or those identified by specific groups or through isolation or interdependence are used to create communities. They are used also to divide space and identify natural enclaves. Traditionally, communities have been relatively heterogeneous, i.e. they could be easily identified by their geographical locations and also by their members (ethnic neighbourhoods, villages, etc.). This viewpoint was used by Chicago School supporters as a basis for many ethnic studies related to juvenile delinquency (Bernard, 1979).

At the end of the twentieth century, group and individual activities are no longer restricted to specific areas. It is not at all uncommon that spouses living out in the suburbs work in different towns and participate in sports and leisure activities in different areas. Also, in a large city, interactions with neighbours and community groups are somewhat difficult. The complexities of life, work relations and qualification requirements are such that individuals are much less

confined to a specific area than it would appear. The consequences of this are far-reaching on several levels.

The incredible expansion of mass media and telecommunications as well as fast-paced technological changes have opened up closed communities and made location irrelevant (Trojanowicz, Moore, 1988).

The huge impact of the media and their ability to produce powerful, but fragmented, images help individuals define themselves based on their economic status (lower class) or their various interests, i.e. their career (teacher), their physical activities (freak workout), their hobbies (auto collector), their generation (yuppie), their social implications or activism (pressure groups) and many others (Trojanowicz, Moore, 1988). Communities now reflect various interests that are not necessarily mutually exclusive but that require individuals to move among different groups. In other words, modern communities are fragmented. They comprise a variety of interests that only have in common the fact that individuals are linked to several of them at the same time.

It is reasonable to ask: How can the police be expected to work with members of a community that is so fragmented and complex?

In a green paper, the Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal identified the criteria and objectives applicable to neighbourhood police. In fact, the Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal map was redrawn into 49 geographical units, each containing a police station. The criteria used to identify a typical neighbourhood were natural boundaries, long-established neighbourhoods, political boundaries, local features and population mix (SPCUM, 1995:23). Clearly, this new map was intended to appeal to

citizens' sense of belonging and to facilitate partnerships between the police and the public. This undertaking, although commendable, is incomplete if it only takes into account the geographical location of a community of interests. Geographical location is important because it physically links individuals together if no other interest-based links exist. For the police, it means, at the very least, raising the citizens' interest for safety in places of residence, which might seem insufficient.

Since it is difficult to define a community made up of several interest groups, how can we expect the police to truly represent such a community?

Let us remember that citizens are part of communities representing multiple, complex and sometimes overlapping interests.

Police-Community Relationships: A Major Source of Confusion

As we have seen, community policing is a broad concept which provides for a whole set of approaches and solutions. However, the partnership so often emphasized and encouraged between the police and the community has the potential of producing significant ambiguities. Saying that the police can and will develop new relationships with the public based on a so-called partnership is one thing, achieving such a partnership is quite another. The substantial literature on this topic provides not only the means for creating partnerships, more often than not it identifies successful attempts without providing much detail on actions taken and even less on impediments encountered when the police tried to enter into a partnership.

In specific cases related to crime prevention, law enforcement has traditionally

invited partners such as schools or shop owners located near schools to participate in the development or, more often, the implementation of education programs on vandalism or theft. However, in a situation where the police are in transition and have no other choice but to convert to community policing, often by appointing a community police officer, they must initiate a series of steps to familiarize their members with this concept and ultimately implement it. This last aspect is probably the most difficult.

It should be pointed out that private security and the various questions raised about it are outside the scope of this research. In this rapidly expanding field, various private concerns provide more efficiently a number of services traditionally recognized as coming under the responsibility of the public police (Arreola, Kondracki, 1992). The expansion of private police raises questions about the capacity of governments to achieve their objectives in the area of public safety (Grabosky, 1992).

We are also leaving out of our research such programs as neighbourhood watch, weapon-assisted self-defence, bystander, drug hotlines, payments to whistleblowers, police informers and double agents (for more details see Grabosky, 1992). These programs fail to meet the objectives required for creating partnerships between the police and the community as part of a reassessment of the role of the police in the area of public safety. They open the door to vigilante justice.

Crime Prevention Programs: Police-Community Relationships

Some would be inclined to believe that in past decades, before community policing, attempts were made to bring the police and the community together

in an effort to prevent crime. In this part of the report, we will see that it was not really the case.

Crime prevention is a broad concept which was used to produce a wide range of reports. We looked at a number of them and we used those that had a more general outlook. For a better understanding, we divided these reports into two categories. However, the distinctions made for purposes of this demonstration are not so clear when it comes to implementing the various programs and activities.

Generic and Descriptive Reports

The first category of reports is called generic. Generic reports provide a broad picture of crime in a community. Based on specific factors, they describe a situation, point to conditions that contribute to an increase in the fear of crime and provide suitable solutions for the communities concerned

Reports in this category include United Nations reports on the results of conventions held since the first Geneva Convention in 1955 (United Nations, 1995). At these conventions, government officials, justice professionals, intellectuals and members of non-governmental organizations from around the world discussed common problems, shared different experiences and identified appropriate solutions for implementation. In Canada, at least three conferences were held in the early 1990s to deal with more specific problems : the Symposium on Women, Law and the Administration of Justice, held in Vancouver in 1991, to discuss the status of women and justice; another conference held in 1991, in Whitehorse, dealt with the concerns of native people; finally, a conference held in Toronto in 1993 discussed public safety

(Canada 1993; National Crime Prevention Council, 1997).

Generally, reports in this category reflect a recognition of the structural causes of crime and of the need to take appropriate action to fight criminal behaviour. Depending on the situation, prevention initiatives are aimed at such factors as poverty, illiteracy, domestic violence, sexual violence, drug addiction, unemployment and sub-standard housing. Generic reports contain by definition a substantial amount of information which needs to be tailored to the country, the region or the community involved (see United Nations, 1996; Robert, 1991).

The second category of reports is called descriptive. Descriptive reports are used to find suitable solutions and provide specific corrective actions aimed at the sources and causes of crime. They generally contain crime statistics, an experience review on prevention, poll results on crime, and the economic and social costs of crime. They identify specific and more general prevention programs as well as activities related to such programs. Using situational crime prevention (Clarke, Weisburg, 1994; Clarke, Mayhew, 1994) to toughen potential crime targets is part of this. Specific programs are aimed at a special category of potential offenders or crime victims to make them less vulnerable. Neighbourhood watch is certainly the best example of this type of program in Canada and abroad (Canada, 1995a; Turner, Alexandriou, 1997). These programs usually complement police action. Programs that are broader in scope try to influence social, cultural and economic conditions. Targets are less specific and actions are more sweeping. The strategies provide for the implementation of various actions. Cooperation and partnerships are sought by those involved in crime prevention. In that regard, the police are not necessarily responsible for dealing with the causes of crime and social ills.

Actions required to reduce crime are complex as they involve either parental responsibility or problems such as alcohol abuse, drug addiction, unemployment and illiteracy (for more details see Canada, 1995b).

An example would be social work performed in an underprivileged neighbourhood to improve living conditions and give hope to the community that youth crime can ultimately be eradicated.

Specific programs at the federal and provincial levels result in actions supporting community involvement and partnerships. In this regard, several suggested approaches are extremely different as they are tailored to the population : for example, the Next Step program which provides clothing to victims of domestic violence; the National Longitudinal Survey on Children, which is part of a general initiative on children development (poverty, violence, etc.); the Monction Headstart program designed to help children experiencing family or learning problems; youth guidance through the merging of all youth centres in Quebec; a prostitution project in Calgary; the Hollow Water project for the Ojibway community north of Winnipeg; and the Safe Neighbourhood project in Toronto to name just a few (Canada, 1995a; Quebec, 1993b; Welsh, Roy, 1996). These programs use a social prevention approach.

Hollow Water Project

Community members encouraged their people to attend prayer sessions to overcome the difficulties of this native community.

Prayer sessions were conducted in the spiritual tradition of this aboriginal community in an attempt to summon enough positive energy to counter negative forces.

Members of the community were thus able to channel positive energies while reclaiming a fading tradition.

Comments on the Reports

These reports either describe the factors that make a community safer (without ever specifying what it would be like if it were less safe) or provide a broad picture of crime and related issues. In either case, they try to provide and collate information on crime and, consequently, on crime prevention. They generally contain information on the social and economic costs of crime, on crime in general and on current, and sometimes foreign, prevention strategies (National Crime Prevention Council, 1997).

These reports are not designed to provide theoretical discussions on safety or identify practical solutions from those advocated. They rarely try to define and describe what crime prevention actually means. In fact, crime prevention lacks a formal definition, although it is generally agreed that crime prevention means anticipating, recognizing and assessing the risk involved, and implementing actions to lower that risk (Snowdon, 1993).

The effects of prevention are easily confused with actions used for that purpose. Prevention literally means to hinder crime so that its negative effects will ultimately decrease. In fact, using like Barak (1998) the phrase crime reduction would be more accurate. Again, common language often confuses causes and effects. All the information collected on crime, on programs implemented, and on the cost and fear of crime provide a rationale for acting through prevention rather than expounding on what prevention means.

Players Involved in Crime Prevention

A document from the federal government lists the individuals, associations and

organizations involved in crime prevention. Stakeholders include town councils, aboriginal chiefs, governments, local, provincial and national law enforcement, youth organizations, social planning councils, local health centres, women centres, senior citizen organizations, business associations and the education system (school boards, colleges and universities) (Canada, 1995a). They provide services and temporary or almost permanent solutions aimed at broadly influencing those factors that directly or indirectly affect crime. Generally, their roles are well defined, but they are so broad that it is difficult to see how they can become cost-effective in both the short and long term. They rely on funding and support from governments to carry out their specific mandate, i.e. battered women, children, victims, etc. Crime prevention is one of the targets of their actions, although rarely the only one or the main one. There are exceptions such as the Canada-wide National Crime Prevention Council created in 1994 and, in Quebec, the Crime Prevention Regional Committees.

It is interesting to note that the police are not always included as a partner for crime prevention. For example, it is remarkable that an issues paper on a Canadian strategy for safe communities only gave a small space to the police and it was not in the partnership section (Special Advisory Committee, 1993). Recognized police specialties are applied in crime prevention units, school visits and community relations units. They are also used in more traditional activities such as personal identification and habitual offender programs (Stroeder, 1997). These only receive a tiny portion of the overall police budget (Waller, 1991:22). Such specialties are showcased during crime prevention weeks or through the Block Parents program. It is implicitly recognized, although not mentioned, that the police should continue to play their traditional role, i.e. maintaining order and enforcing laws. This brings up two observations.

We believe communities and citizens are already getting involved and are starting to deal with their own problems. In other words, whether through community organizations or otherwise, citizens play a direct role in crime prevention. In their own way, within the general framework of prevention, they provide assistance to the young, the elderly, battered women, etc. Direct police participation is not required or provided for in their strategies (National Crime Prevention Council, 1997). These prevention programs seek to influence the socialization process and are used to support social reintegration as well as social, cultural and sports activities.

Our second observation is more straight-forward. It is agreed that the police should continue to play their assigned role. In this respect, it would not be advisable for the police to get involved in other ways with these organizations or to change their procedures, approaches or methods in order to become a full partner. In fact, it is implied that the police are used only when needed for targeted, practical operations, not as a regular partner involved with others in developing prevention programs. For example, a document from the federal Department of Justice providing guidance on safety and prevention (Canada, 1996:1) contains a whole series of steps used to describe various problems and to subsequently develop an action plan to resolve them. It is hardly mentioned that prevention experts from the police could act as advisors. The police are not described nor perceived as a partner. It can be said that citizens at last are dealing with their own problems and are no longer seeing the police as the sole stakeholder in this area. This shows real commitment by the community to develop methods and programs that no longer rely solely on the police and on enforcement actions. Programs focus less on police-type operations and are more consistent with the requirements of those responsible for their development and the target groups for whom they are intended. However, it would reasonable to ask what the real impact of such approaches will be if one

safety stakeholder with access to huge budgets and a wide influence over the community is considered only as one of many potential partners.

We have noticed that this discussion has not changed police practices with respect to prevention. The police continue to play their role as law enforcement specialist. By respecting the limitations placed by the police on their own role, other stakeholders in the community have identified not only operational limitations but also program limitations.

Review

We suggest that crime prevention should be considered on three levels.
1- Crime prevention is at once a function and an objective of the justice system. It is both inside and outside of the system (Whisenand, 1977:8; Loree, Walker, 1990). Prevention implies generating benefits for institutions and organizations whose objectives do not include crime reduction (schools, recreation centres, community groups, etc.).

2- Crime prevention encompasses all actions dealing with the fear of crime, criminal activities and the effects of crime (Ignatieff, 1975). During the 1970s, the police were very active through their Neighbourhood Watch programs in contacting citizens and planning implementation meetings. However, by the early 1980s, citizen and community involvement was not only encouraged in user manuals (Canada, 1983), it had become the cornerstone of this process. This was further confirmed during the 1990s (Sonnichsen, 1993).

From the 1970s onward, crime prevention has included actions dealing with individuals, policies on social reforms, police deployments (Hagan, 1975),

actions on vandalism (Sears, 1975), behaviour modification (Marchall, Keltner, 1975) and environment changes (Lajoie, 1975). Crime prevention required the involvement of the criminal justice system (courts, parole), the police and the community. This was widely discussed during the 1970s by authors who liked to stress that the police did not have the required efficiency, that they were far from being the sole player in the area of public safety and that a greater involvement by the community would bring benefits to everyone (Arthurs, 1975; Parry, 1975; Hagan, 1975).

3- Crime prevention is a perfect example of how the police can be kept out of the leading role. It also shows how the community, through various initiatives from extremely diversified stakeholders, can implement prevention programs that work.

Crime control, a police specialty, has become crime prevention, thus requiring the involvement of the community (Quebec, 1993a). Hence the need to create new relationships between community stakeholders and to encourage new initiatives. Police participation has been reduced and is not requested as strongly as before. Police officers specializing in crime prevention are seen as experts to be contacted on an as required basis. We observed the following: Traditionally, the police have played a well defined role in this area, through which they started creating new relationships with citizens and giving them new responsibilities with regard to safety (for example, prevention campaigns on lock efficiency). However, it appears that the police could not over the years use this opening to develop new relationship strategies. Quite the opposite. The literature shows that crime prevention has become a community concern. Stakeholders from a number of areas (women, senior citizens, children, natives, victims, etc.) are taking various initiatives in an effort to control the factors that affect their safety and their environment. The police are virtually

excluded as the solutions do not involve direct police participation. Far from being the main partner, the police are completely left out in many cases. Let us assume that crime prevention was not seen as real police work. This was even more true in large departments where prevention came under a special unit with only a few members working in this area full time. As a result, prevention eventually became a matter for specialists, leaving out the other members of the department. It is therefore not surprising that the police did not develop new relationships with citizens over the years. It was unable to do so. Thus, the advent and implementation of community policing were not made any easier by past experiences. These were too restricted, incomplete and limited to crime prevention experts. Hence the major difficulties currently encountered by police departments when trying to cooperate with partners other than the police.

Framework for a New Partnership

For some, community policing opened the door to greater cooperation between citizens and the police (Canada, 1994), although earlier crime prevention programs were used to encourage citizens to cooperate and even initiate actions on their own without support or assistance from the police. However, this cooperation was limited and, as we have seen, the police did not take advantage of the opportunities provided by crime prevention programs to establish relationships that were less controlling and reactive and more amenable to sharing information with citizens. We can understand why all kinds of questions and objections have been and continue to be raised about community policing, which calls for real changes in police management and, most of all, in police-community relationships.

As stated by Mastrofski (1994), the police are caught in a dilemma: they are forced to set priorities for tasks that are outside their traditional mandate while at the same time having to relinquish the leadership role that citizens generally expect from the police.

In the following sections, we will ask whether police departments are structured and equipped adequately to make these programs work. We will focus less on the impact of these programs on the community, as the work of Skogan (1994) has shown (Is the program's message known in the community? Are actions effective? Who attends the meetings: groups, age, sex, ethnicity, home owners or tenants, etc.? Meeting frequency and attendance.) and more on the work done by the police to develop relevant programs with the community; to get police officers and citizens to participate; finally, to ensure that the programs meet citizens requirements, i.e. that they are not based solely on police priorities.

It is regularly emphasized in the literature on community policing that the police play the leading role in the partnerships by organizing, facilitating, coordinating and even performing services. While it is agreed that the police initiate such operations, community groups are also involved based on the severity of the problem and the impact of the response. One approach that has been growing in recent years is volunteer work.

Police and Volunteers - Cooperation and Participation in Public Safety Management

It has now become fashionable for citizens to cooperate with the police through volunteer programs. These programs come under three relatively independent categories. They have nothing to do with civilian employees working in

administration, research, planning and management. The first category is called citizen volunteers. Citizen volunteers come from every level of society and from diverse backgrounds. They volunteer their time for support activities aimed mainly but not exclusively at crime prevention. The second category is called police volunteers. Police volunteers are law enforcement officers involved in social activities and sports after working hours. The third category is for individuals providing assistance to law enforcement and related activities without getting paid. Generally, these volunteers hope to pursue a career in the police. They are appointed as auxiliary police officers, reserve or cadets. We are going to cover all three without looking at their efficiency. Such an assessment would be enough for a whole research project.

Therefore, contrary to what we might have been led to believe, the police have started to interact with the community, in their own way, in non-traditional areas.

Citizen Volunteers

Having observed that volunteers were the backbone of many organizations, police departments came to realize the direct and immediate impact volunteers would have on their own organizations. In a paper prepared for a summit on the police and their future, the Ontario Solicitor General and Correctional Services Department (Ontario, 1996:39) tried to identify in its evaluation of police duties what functions and mechanisms should be put in place to get volunteer help. In the same spirit, the Sûreté du Québec published a guide for police officers working with volunteers (Théroux, 1995); numerous issues are covered including recruiting, selection, training, retention mechanisms, rights and responsibilities as well as job assignments.

The many jobs performed by volunteers are not in competition with existing functions in police departments. Also, they must not compete with tasks identified in labour agreements. Volunteer work is used to improve services delivered to citizens and the quality of life within the community. More often than not, these jobs are included in crime prevention and education programs (San Antonio Police Department, 1997).

These jobs are numerous and varied: clerical work (receptionist, office clerk); assistance and information duties in neighbourhood police stations or for special events (police week, etc.); help in identifying objects; bike trail patrols; neighbourhood patrols with amateur radios; mobile fire patrols; involvement in victim assistance programs; participation in telephone surveys, etc. The list goes on and on. (Metropolitan Toronto Police Service, 1997; RCMP, 1997; San Antonio Police Department, 1997; Merced Police Department, 1997; New South Wales Police Service, 1997; Seagrave, 1993; Hamilton, 1993; Duffy, 1982)

Examples of volunteerism

- During a fire emergency, the St-Hyacinthe mobile patrol springs into action. Individuals temporarily replace the firefighters who are busy with the fire.
- The des Collines RCM Police Department uses volunteers to engrave citizens property.
- The Edmonton Police Department calls on volunteers to receive citizens complaints in neighbourhood stations.

Training is sometimes provided to educate future volunteers and adequately prepare them for their duties. Formal training sessions are conducted by police

officers through volunteer training centres to give citizens a better understanding of their police department. Certificates are issued to confirm that the recipient has attended the training sessions. This training lasts an average of 40 hours, although it fluctuates widely from one department to the next. It is said to be intended to enhance professionalism among volunteers.

The Calgary Police Service inaugurated its Citizen Police Academy in the spring of 1986 and the Vancouver Police Department did the same in November 1995. The Metropolitan Toronto Police Service opened its Civilian Police College in the fall of 1996 and the Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal launched its Police-Community Partnership Institute in October 1997 (Metropolitan Toronto Police Service, s.d.; Metropolitan Toronto Police Service, 1997; Service de police de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal, s.d.; Calgary Police Service, s.d.; Robinson; Kleeband, 1996; Taylor, 1982). These departments followed the lead of police departments in the United States such as in Orlando, Florida.

Police Volunteers

Police officers also do volunteer work in their communities based on their personal commitment and interest. In the past, such involvement remained relatively unknown to police departments. It was not uncommon to see a police officer coaching a neighbourhood hockey or baseball team. These individuals were seen more as parents and coaches than as police officers. However, if a safety issue was raised, they would of course revert to their expert role.

In recent years, a new phenomenon has started to emerge in police departments. It includes two aspects: police officers are encouraged to get

involved in their communities and they are invited to do so on an individual basis. This encouragement is undoubtedly due to the fact that until recently, few police officers did it by and for themselves. It is not uncommon for police officers to request that their participation be covered in their labour agreement and recognized by the parties. Police officer involvement in the community is thus compensated in time or money. During an interview, a police chief said that much remained to be done to get police officers to become true volunteers.

The rationale supporting such initiatives has two aspects. On the one hand, it says that police officers maintain a rich philanthropic tradition that goes well beyond safety and defence operations in the community. On the other hand, as police officers come in regular contact with less desirable aspects of their communities, it is a good thing that they be seen as supporting various initiatives and responding to the needs of citizens (Shanahan, 1982). In other words, it is one of the ways used by the police to get community support.

One example from the des Collines-de-l'Outaouais RCM Police Department

When the department was created in November 1997, it was understood that police officers would get involved in their communities in various capacities. Such actions directly support the department's mission which recognizes the need to establish partnerships with citizens. One of the roles assigned to police officers is that of contact person in the broader sense of the word. In fact, they take part in various social and recreational activities in an effort to become full members of the community. As a result, they gain a better understanding of the spirit of the neighbourhood where they work and live.

Auxiliary Police, Reserve and Cadets

The third category we want to look at concerns auxiliary police, reserve and cadets. This is a mixed category in that these people have the same powers of arrest as peace officers when they are with police officers on duty, they were trained for that purpose, they work on a temporary basis and they are not paid. Some may get paid, but they are not considered in this report. This program is used to help police officers on duty perform tasks that the police cannot technically perform due to special circumstances, i.e. a social event where crowds greatly increase the population of the town, and to make up a reserve force for unexpected events (Brumm, 1982; Hoekstra, 1982; Krueger, 1982). Once enrolled, these individuals stand a better chance of becoming full-time police officers if they wish. On account of their involvement, commitment and introduction into the justice system, they are a pool of potential recruits. The individuals participating in these programs are a significant resource for law enforcement (Berg, Doerner, 1988).

Also belonging in this category, with a few variations, is the Ride-Along Program. Through this program, young adults lend a hand to officers on duty during community support activities. It is used to foster interest in police and justice issues in general, and to assess these people's motivation to become police officers (Runyon, 1982).

The Future of the Police and Volunteerism

Citizen involvement at various levels and in different capacities raises a number of major issues. These issues remain relatively absent from the

literature on volunteer work, in particular as it relates to auxiliary police.

Although it is difficult to generalize, there is a number of common issues concerning the police and volunteers. We will look at them.

The rationale for these initiatives includes at least three factors. The first one is economic. The public has been demanding that governments cut taxes and lower the cost of the police, although the same public wants to see a more efficient public service, including the police. Law enforcement is faced with severe budget cuts as are other municipal departments. Budget allotments place tough restrictions on their ability to hire and to expand, while still having to meet the safety needs of the public. Volunteers are thus seen as low-cost resources (Taylor, 1982; Lachasse, 1982; Duffy, 1982). In this regard, it is worth mentioning an experience showing the extent to which volunteers can be involved in a police department. The Tempe, Arizona Police Department has set up a formal volunteer program. After their selection, volunteers are encouraged to give their time in over 35 activities, including office work, management of seminars on sexual abuse victims, implementation of an orientation program for lost drivers, providing assistance on accident scenes, writing parking tickets in areas reserved for fire vehicles and disabled persons, analyzing crime data, etc. Over a period of 27 months, the number of volunteers with the department jumped from three to 120. These individuals are placed under the responsibility of a civilian manager hired for that purpose. The success of this program is said to be due to the fact that the department treats its volunteers as regular employees (Marquez, 1992).

The second factor is the human aspect. People are eager to help not only the police but also their neighbours and fellow citizens. They are the eyes and ears of the police. They provide significant help that can be tailored to local needs

(Russell, 1982). This also gives young adults the opportunity to increase their awareness of social problems (Lipson, 1982).

Since 1993, Laval's Citizen Protection Service has set up an advising committee in two Public Safety Centres. Made up of volunteers from community organizations, these committees are used to facilitate understanding of police problems and to identify action priorities. This makes it possible to respond to the specific needs of a neighbourhood.

Finally, the third factor has to do with the unexpected effect of implementing such programs. Indeed, it now appears that the presence of volunteers within police departments makes a difference in terms of public relations. Whether this is true or not does not need be discussed in this study. As a result, the police are more accessible, more humane and more capable of responding to the demands of the community to control crime and reduce the fear of crime. The police are seen as sharing the problems of the community while getting citizens involved in the management of their own problems. This last factor is important as this type of constructive relationships between the police and the community cannot be built with budget allocations. In other words, the trust the community has in the police is not based on economics (Taylor, 1982).

Using volunteers, whether they be senior citizens, young people, activists or people involved in their community, is not yet done on a consistent, predetermined basis. As we have seen, volunteers also work through crime prevention committees.

These individuals assume responsibilities that are consistent with their abilities and social expertise. They act as intermediaries between the community and the police. They are catalysts for often unexpressed frustration towards law

enforcement, and they also act as motivating agents. On another level, they perform essential clerical and contact work, although it is not perceived or seen as such by the police.

The importance of real cooperation with members of the community is almost totally left out of basic training and career development training. It is generally true that wide-scale public surveys show citizens as being very supportive of the police. It is also true that this kind of support is appreciated by the police but rarely reflected in daily operations. More often than not, police departments consider themselves as the only entity having adequate tools to deal with public safety. Also, on account of their history, their training programs and their huge power derived from the right to use force when required, the police sometimes respond with inordinate or ill-suited means (LeBeuf, Soullière, 1996). Citizens want to resolve what they consider to be their own problems and they expect that the police will not only understand these problems, but also respond to them. They further expect to have the opportunity to describe their problems and provide solutions. Volunteers give them such an opportunity by being available. They expect that the police will be able to do it.

Citizens are already involved in police work by sitting on public complaints committees. These committees come in different forms and give citizens various responsibilities (Brodeur, LeBeuf, 1992). They are aimed more at controlling and monitoring violations than cooperation activities. Such formal structures were set up as a result of code of conduct violations. For example, the RCMP Public Complaints Committee was set up under Part VII of the RCMP Act, which has been in force since 1988 (RCMP Act , R.s., R-9, s.1).

The arrival of volunteers provides a completely different relationship. Their emergence creates an opening that is truly revolutionary. The institution has indeed shown that it can work with committed citizens. It has also demonstrated that in specific circumstances it can use the expertise of individuals willing to work with the police. Of course, such experiences are still incomplete and inconsistent, and they depend on several factors. Among the major ones are the willingness of supervisors to support this type of programs for constables; the active encouragement, if not inducement, by management of employees that can participate in non-traditional activities with citizens; the belief that such programs can work.

In December 1997, the St-Hyacinthe Police Department was awarded a prize by the Intersection magazine for its "Sécuri-parc" project. After this initiative was unveiled by the police department, the city's community and recreational services, various community stakeholders and park maintenance employees developed a strategy to fight petty crime in city parks and recreational areas. The action plan included various steps, i.e. public education, reconfiguration of physical areas as well as specific prevention and enforcement actions. As a result, city parks are more peaceful, more accessible and used by more people.

Volunteers are seen as doing support work that is strongly appreciated not only by citizens, but also by the police. It is against a backdrop of budget cuts, reduced available time and increasingly diversified and heavy responsibilities that volunteers are invited to work with the police. They perform work that is necessary but not essential to the police, although it is perceived as such by the community. They provide assistance wherever resources seem to be lacking (Arreola, Kondraki, 1992). However, their status is ambiguous. In documents used to solicit volunteers or to inform the public on the roles and duties of volunteers, it is stated that they

are unofficial liaison officers between the police and the community (Ramsay, 1997). What status do the police recognize for volunteers? What status do volunteers recognize for themselves?

Police Point of View

For the police, it is clear that volunteers provide appreciated support that is sometimes incorporated into the organization. Their involvement is based on their skills, although it is dependent on requests, requirements and police limitations. They perform useful tasks without requiring new budget allocations or affecting existing budgets. Programs such as Citizen on Patrol, Neighbourhood Security Patrols and many others, provide the police with support which complements and probably enhances service delivery. In addition, volunteers conduct activities such as crowd control at concerts or marathons and funeral escort duties, which raise questions as to whether they should be performed by the police. Volunteers thus represent a gold mine for the police. A gold mine yet to be tapped, but which could disappear overnight without notice.

The institution has to learn to manage social problems differently, which means dealing with the community in a different way. Police officers who have the opportunity of interacting with volunteers learn first hand of the positive benefits of human relationships that are not tainted or linked to crime.

In a previous research, we looked at the benefits derived by police officers from being in contact with communities during United Nations peacekeeping missions (LeBeuf, 1997, 1995). We found that the complex learning required during these missions gave participants more maturity and a greater awareness

of social problems in communities where cultural values, the economy and politics are cast in a different mold than in Canada. Overall, police officers seem to take away from their experience a better understanding of the difficulties of life in general. They return with a sense that community relationships take precedence over immediate law enforcement concerns. Although, a quick-response attitude is obviously required in specific circumstances.

We contend that the police have everything to gain by continuing to take part in these missions. Also, that members can only benefit from such contacts with citizens. In fact, there was clear evidence that communication problems were more with police officers dealing with the community than the other way around, as citizens were relatively at ease with the police.

In Canadian communities, the situation is similar in many ways. Citizens become volunteers not only to help their neighbours, but also to enhance police contacts with the community.

Volunteers'Point of View

For volunteers, the perspective is quite different. First, they see themselves as playing a very useful role when they are called upon to give their time. They help people in need, they channel the frustrations of individuals who are caught, through no fault of their own, in the criminal justice system, they support people who are unaware of the intricacies of the system, they organize and take part in celebrations, and they participate in public events. Besides, police officers feel these tasks should not be part of their normal duties.

Volunteers are seen as a relatively unexpected help. Who would have thought just a few years back that several police departments of all sizes, although larger ones are generally more active, would be willing to let civilians with no formal police training, who for the most part have no intention of becoming police officers because they have their own careers or are not interested in this line of work, and who are not paid, participate in police operations not directly related to crime control? This support is seen as assistance to the police. It is greatly appreciated and valuable, although it remains supplementary and is not included in police department priorities, especially the actions of citizen volunteers.

The involvement of volunteers in safety operations within their communities give them the opportunity to exercise greater control over potential causes of conflicts. For example, by participating in public safety committees, citizens become aware of the needs and requirements of their neighbours and they learn how to develop networks with the police and other partners. They can do this at minimum cost, certainly less than it would cost the police without their help. Also, through specific programs such as victim assistance, they can provide very valuable support to the community. Nonetheless, the increasing involvement of citizens in support of the police and the community raises at least three questions.

Specific Questions

The first has to do with the practical aspects of these programs. Some programs can be implemented more easily because of their objectives, i.e. victim assistance, engraving, etc. This type of program can be developed without legal or administrative manuals. Also, as seen earlier, they can be quite effective.

For other programs, such as mobile patrols or auxiliary police, these manuals are needed to ensure operational efficiency (Cordner, 1993).

The second question is related to social conditions that generate community concerns and actions. The evidence is that relatively affluent, cohesive and educated communities provide greater involvement opportunities. In other words, the development of volunteer organizations is affected by class. Underprivileged communities are at a disadvantage in that regard as individuals distrust the police more and are less inclined to cooperate. For example, we observed during our interviews that citizens were not as likely to trust the police right away. They felt the need to build trust before entering into a collaborative relationship. For instance, in a relatively poor neighbourhood in the east end of Montreal, police officers going door to door were greeted with more suspicion than trust at first. These people were used to call on the police to resolve problems. They were not ready to cooperate. According to Skogan (1989), community organizations tended to see the position of the police as a demonstration of failure in their traditional role.

Finally, the third question has to do with the implications of citizen participation. Direct involvement gives the community the sense that it controls its own environment. It builds bridges between stakeholders and supports police actions in fighting crime. However, although the increased presence of the public through various police programs can be seen as very effective, some of these actions can become improper. Laws cannot be enforced or be perceived to be enforced by citizens. Where should the line be drawn between direct citizen involvement and simply informing the police? There is a danger that citizen actions can go too far and become improper. Grabosky (1992:266) feels that people see themselves as fairly good judges of their own interest, but are less so when it comes to the interests of others. Also,

when well-meaning citizens harm their neighbours or intrude on their privacy, they are not subjected to the same controls as the police. It is widely recognized that the police have to be accountable for their actions through formal processes. This is essential.

New Partnerships - New Challenges

So far, we have tried to identify through a synthetic approach the elements that help open the police to the community. We described with the limitations that it entails various experiences of cooperation which were more complex in practice than they appeared in writing. This is normal. In fact, any rationalization initiative implies negotiating real conditions to develop general guidelines that will lead to new solutions.

This formalization process would indeed remain incomplete without the addition of extremely complex and diversified driving elements. Law enforcement has been trying for quite some time to find a way to have better relations with citizens, its clients so to speak. The police like any other large public institutions are being indirectly challenged by tax payers and more generally by citizens who now realize that they are entitled to have their say in the management of public safety. Citizens are not oblivious to the various disengagement initiatives taken by governments who encourage them to look after their own affairs. As noted earlier, several documents refer to the relative failure of the police when dealing alone with crime prevention and encouraging citizens to get directly involved. They are also aware of questionable performances by the police.

In this part of the report we look at how the police are informed of community

priorities and, conversely, how the police can get a true sense of the community when consultation and discussion structures overlook both factors. However, as materials and information are gradually created through testing, we may not be in a position at this stage to completely cover this issue

Using Lay Knowledge

An area which could teach us a lot is public health. It is considered to be one of the biggest budget items provided by governments and, more importantly, it is a basic research and development field.

A concept that has been emerging for some years now is the whole issue concerning the production and ultimate use of knowledge. The field of public health, which has traditionally been dominated by the medical profession, has slowly been attracting human and social science researchers. These researchers have been focusing on issues that the medical profession paid little or no attention to. They also describe the environment people live in. There is now evidence that social factors affect the quality of life and thus, the health of individuals and communities (National Forum on Health, 1997). It is less recognized however that lay knowledge plays a role with respect to health. Popay and Williams (1996) demonstrated why women in underprivileged neighbourhoods smoked to support the daily stresses of life even though they were fully aware of the harm this was causing to their health. The women pointed to structural causes for individual behaviours that affected their health. Based on this example, the authors try to show that individuals acquire through their experiences and life history a body of knowledge on health matters that has yet to be recognized by medical experts and researchers. In this respect, they provide evidence that individuals have some information on factors

affecting their health. In fact, citizens and potential patients are providers as much as consumers of health services. A doctor cannot treat a patient without his or her input. For Stacey (1994), the basic characteristic of lay knowledge is that it usually comes from personal experiences. More often than not, this knowledge is modified and transmitted by word of mouth.

With respect to public safety, the research is not as far advanced. However, we can look to public health to find constructive parallels.

In the area of public safety, police departments tend to work in isolation and to remain oblivious to scrutiny and comments by citizens. They are widely recognized as being almost the sole experts in this field, except for a few researchers working on this topic.

As public safety approaches have started to change, particularly with the advent of community policing, it has been observed that citizens have knowledge about their immediate environment which the police are unaware of and will continue to be unaware of unless informed by citizens. Police knowledge of situations affecting the safety of citizens is incomplete, inadequate and sometimes non-existent. It is well known that police officers generally do not live in the area where they work. It is also common knowledge that they try as much as possible to conduct their social activities away from these areas. In fact, police officers remain cut off from the communities where they operate and basically unaware of the unique characteristics of these neighbourhoods.

As a general proposition, the police implicitly recognize that citizens and organizations provide a huge amount of useful information. This information is not related only to crime. It also pertains to situations of social and moral

misery which may be indirectly linked to crime. We must look at how the police use, if they do, lay knowledge provided by citizens on their environment and their lives in general. Even now, the police see themselves and are perceived as the sole public safety expert. Police officers are not trained to work hand in hand with citizens or to encourage their cooperation. Except for bits of information picked up here and there, mainly by investigators, on criminal acts or crime-related events, the police are still unwilling to share in the management of public safety.

Police-Community Partnerships

Citizens were invited to work with the police through various programs even before these were considered to reflect community policing, such as with Neighbourhood Watch. This requires that residents remain alert and report any suspicious occurrences in their communities. However, with community policing, partners are invited to cooperate with the police not only by providing information on what is happening in the area and, as a result, by getting more involved in problem solving, but also by sitting on policy committees dealing with police operational priorities or more direct actions. In fact, partnerships of various types are created for the obvious purpose of developing and implementing comprehensive and coordinated strategies concerning crime (Rosenbaum, 1994).

Partnerships are supported by at least two motivating factors. The first one is that the police are no longer capable of ensuring public safety all by themselves. Although they are fully capable of maintaining some level of public safety, active participation by citizens can help prevent disorders and

crime. If the root causes of problems are addressed, the community will be able to prevent lawlessness. The second has to do with government actions designed to increasingly make service delivery responsive to the needs of the public. By reaching out to the community, law enforcement will become more knowledgeable about it and, as a result, will be better able to respond to the concerns expressed by various groups. To paraphrase Kelling and Coles (1996), "fixing broken windows" will enable the police, through new contacts with the community, to come into major trouble areas for which they are not trained or prepared.

We conclude this report with the viewpoint of partners on what a partnership is, on the requirements for its implementation and finally, on the conditions for its success.

What is a partnership?

Partnerships are achieved in diversified communities with specific needs. Partnerships are by definition manifold. They provide citizens with the opportunity to reflect their reality. In that sense, they are used to deal with community problems and to mobilize citizens who are in contact with these problems.

A partnership is any action designed to create durable working relations. Traditionally, the police have initiated actions with citizens, for example inviting them to become members of the public safety committee. From now on, the police will have to develop various types of partnerships based on their own needs and on the needs and requirements of communities.

The police now realize that they can no longer deal with social problems alone. Some police officers go as far as saying: "We have no choice. We need partners." Establishing partnerships between the police and the community is a long term endeavour. The goals and objectives must be clearly defined.

For some officers, it is still incumbent upon the police to initiate contacts with other partners such as health and education, to name just a few, because, as was mentioned to us, "police officers must get used to talking to people and getting out of their cruisers". In fact, this comment suggests that through partnerships police officers become less isolated, their attitudes become less reactive and, more importantly, they get involved in identifying problems and developing solutions that are not directly related to law enforcement.

Last year, a woman was brutally murdered by her husband in the Montreal area after years of battering. The police was not blamed for inaction by women groups because they had set up a joint task force on domestic violence and had invited various stakeholders to develop strategies. The police identified and obtained local resources to deal with a very complex and difficult problem. Battered women advocates are experts in their field and they bring a different perspective to the police.

This example points to two broad questions: Are police departments willing to be involved through the entire problem solving process, especially if the solutions do not fall under their responsibility? On the other hand, is police willing to bring problems out in the open, thus generating reactions from elected officials and the media? As solutions are never simple and easy to achieve, some interviewees told us that "elected officials are reluctant to get involved".

Achieving Partnerships

Saying that a partnership is needed is one thing, achieving such a partnership and making it work is quite another.

This raises the issue of power relationships between partners . In other words, how should power distribution be managed when all partners do not have the same social status and the same influence to advance their positions. Needless to say, the police have influence over various partners and this can sometimes be used as a weapon. Consequently, one way of facilitating partnerships is recognizing the expertise, not the status, of partners. This makes the decision making process much easier without giving partners the feeling that they are not on an equal footing. This recognition is relatively easy to understand as the police obviously want to interact with the appropriate expertise based on identified or expressed needs. Also, the role of each partner should be clearly defined in order to understand their mandate and consult them seriously.

Each partner is duty bound to carry out its mandate. As stated by one interviewee: "We work on the problem. They (the police) act on it." Describing a partnership is much easier than achieving one. The partners sitting around the table do not necessarily have the choice to be there. However, they sometimes recognize also that they do not have the choice not to be there. Based on this, one interviewee commented: "We act as long as we have control over our actions. We call on the police when we need them." The same argument could probably be made by all partners, including the police. This means that each partner must fulfill its part of the task and at the same time recognize the contribution of others around the table. "Partnerships are not the sole purview of the police."

Finally, developing an action plan helps implement the proposed solutions (means, tools, etc.). Getting partners who use approaches that are different from the police to cooperate in solving problems is extremely rewarding. It is also very difficult to achieve. What are the conditions for a successful partnership?

Conditions for a Successful Partnership

"A successful partnership depends first and foremost on the partners selected." Indeed, when partners are concerned with an issue, they get actively involved. They feel directly affected both by the diagnosis and the solutions. They are more inclined to cooperate to solve the problem. Ideally, such cooperation should produce lasting solutions.

As we mentioned several times, partners come from very different organizations. They do not always have a good grasp of the other partners' roles and mandates. It is felt that partners should get to know each other and learn to work together before taking any significant actions. As stated, it is important for police officers to "always be mindful of the human aspects".

The police must share leadership responsibilities and any rewards for successes achieved. Indeed, partners must learn to share each other's cultures and expertise in order to promote trust among them. For example, representatives of community organizations sometimes get really frustrated when they realize that police wages are often double their own and, on top of that, when meetings last longer than expected police officers get paid for overtime. This is upsetting and it can disrupt relations between partners.

Leadership sharing is really helpful when the time comes to take concrete actions and to support the strategies of other partners. Leadership sharing is wanted by all partners as a sign of a true partnership. Partnerships are difficult for all those involved. They are even more difficult for the police.

Several reasons have been identified, four of which appear to be significant. Historically, police departments have not been accustomed to working in cooperation with citizens and other organizations. Police officers were trained to ask questions and collect evidence for purposes of an investigation or, more simply, to respond to a crime. The police saw themselves and were perceived as an expert in the area of crime.

The second, which is linked directly to the first, is the traditional reluctance of the police to deal with anything not directly connected to crime and social order. The situation in this regard is already changing. We were told that for the police, partnerships provide access to community information and that such information "could not be obtained otherwise". "By working with people from the neighbourhood, we can prevent problems. This way, we're likely to get information much more quickly than with our old methods." In other words, direct actions on the ground help the police and their partners. It appears that at this stage in the partnership implementation process, working relationships are aimed more at providing the police with direct, almost quantifiable benefits which have a closer connection to law enforcement, than to solving social problems. Obviously, the situation will change. What direction this will take remains to be seen.

The third is related to jurisdictional issues. Although professional and individual jurisdictions are readily recognized in police-community relationships (including volunteers, community organizations and individuals),

maintaining these relationships remains difficult. Up until recently, the police had not been accustomed to joining discussion groups as one of the partners. Whenever the police got involved, usually through senior management, they controlled the discussions and task assignment. In other words, the police acted as a catalyst and leader. However, with the advent of public safety committees, coordination committees, police advisory committees and other consultation mechanisms (see Weiler, 1993), the distinctive characteristics and mandate of each partner must not only be recognized, they must also be respected. This would appear to be critical. Otherwise, the trust needed among partners to achieve the objectives will never develop. In fact, both the police and the other partners have to go through a mutual education process regarding their respective organizational cultures and any issues considered to be priorities.

A fourth reason is more structural in nature. It has to be documented much more than it currently is. Some partners go as far as saying that the type of commitment required by partnerships cannot be carried out by every police officer. This is critical because it brings into question the viability of the process itself and also because police departments would be required to divide police officers into two categories: those capable of entering into partnerships with citizens and those who will be left in more traditional law enforcement duties. Would that mean two levels of police officers and two levels of assignment? Or does it simply point out that police departments will only be able to enter into partnerships in specific cases as requested by them and based on their own needs rather than those of the community?

This statement calls into question the community policing philosophy. The police are searching for patterns and operational procedures consistent with community policing. Obviously, they are also trying to find out how current

employees, whose training is based more on a reactive than a proactive pattern, will manage to deal with the challenges now facing the police. One way of going about it is to consider partnerships and related actions as a new public safety management tool. As a result, the police will rely less on levels of assignment and more on members capable of adapting in due course to new social realities emerging in communities where they work. In other words, identifying individuals well suited for community relations seems less important at this stage than ensuring that police officers are capable of responding to requests from citizens, community organizations and large social institutions through a local approach.

On the other hand, partners such as community organizations do not necessarily see the police as a partner. People are more accustomed to working with their counterparts in similar organizations or with civil servants. Public safety, including the police, are not easily integrated in the process. For example, in the Healthy Towns and Villages campaign, which is a municipal initiative supporting a partnership and active participation of citizens (National Forum on Health, 1997), public safety is almost completely overlooked. It still remains very much on a separate track.

Expected Benefits

Though it is relatively easy to identify the benefits to partners, it has to be acknowledged that in reality things are much more complicated. Admittedly, any work done through a partnership is more awkward, takes longer and is more demanding for members of the group.

A major benefit for all involved is undeniably the greater availability of

information through increased knowledge about the community and its resources. As mentioned earlier, when a partnership is achieved a communication network is set up to facilitate information exchanges between partners and also with organizations less directly involved and other segments of the community. There could be a positive spill-over effect in the short and medium term, which could produce unexpected results.

Improved communication appears to be the direct result of this first benefit. It is essential that partners share information. These exchanges are set up slowly, based on mutual trust and respect for each other's jurisdiction. Improving communications is less a goal to be reached than an objective to be achieved through actions.

In addition, partnerships give police departments the opportunity to meet new partners and also partners they would have been reluctant to associate with, and vice versa.

On a level more closely related to the police, it appears that partnerships require from police officers a greater degree of independence in decision making and more latitude to manage the time spent on prevention and problem solving. We were told that some police officers involved in experiments give generously of their time.

Other effects are the opposite of some of the benefits mentioned before. The first has to do with leadership sharing.

If more than one player is involved, it does not make sense that one of the partners take over control of the process. In fact, depending on the complexity of the issues discussed, the strategies implemented to achieve the objectives

and the partners used, the roles of the various players change and so does the leadership. Although the police may be the catalyst on account of their expertise in public safety, sometimes other partners initiate the process by inviting the police to join them. When the time comes to develop an action plan, all partners have to cooperate to ensure a solid support.

The second element, which is directly linked to the first, is the relative loss of latitude of all partners within the decision making process. A true partnership entails not only the coming together of different players, but also making administrative decisions to facilitate the implementation process. This means that for a specific issue, all partners, not just one or two, participate in the decision making process.

Police Limitations Within Partnerships

If one of the objectives for the police is securing community support and identifying structuring elements required to develop relationships with the community, it is reasonable to ask what the limit of police involvement should be in partnerships with community groups and other organizations.

In times of change such as the one the police is currently going through, identifying the limits of partnership involvement is somewhat difficult. In fact, this limit issue raises the question of what the police should be.

To shed some light on this topic, we decided to visit some recently-created police departments and our curiosity even took us to a remote area.

Kuujjuaq is the Nunavik Police Headquarters. Nunavik is a region located

north of the 55th parallel, between Hudson Bay and Ungava Bay. This police department includes 14 police stations disseminated over an area covering more than a third of the Province of Quebec. One, two or three Inuit or white police officers man each station depending on the number of Inuit residents in the village. Inuit traditions live side by side with values and customs brought in by white people, especially since the early 1960s. Generally speaking, each community tries to deal by itself with its economic and social problems, which were created to a large extent by the arrival of whites.

The people of this region have a keen sense of community which is transmitted from one generation to the next. They live in small villages ranging in population from nearly 1400 to less than 300. In other words, the community takes care of its own.

Police officers have a very special status in these communities. First of all, there are very few of them in each village. Most police officers are Inuit, although a few of them are white. In addition, their income does not fluctuate with the seasons as it does for other residents. Police officers use motor vehicles to move around while the great majority of the population uses motorcycles. The police have a special status for other reasons. They are seen as an organization that is capable of dealing with problems quickly. Once their problems have been resolved, the residents do not feel a need to maintain a relationship with the police. Law enforcement is one of the services provided to the community. It is used when needed. One pressing problem is alcohol and drug abuse and also the violence it generates.

The police are most often required to play a crime-fighting role. This is what the people expect. They want to keep drunken people from getting into violent situations which can lead to criminal acts. Police officers see their role as

extending beyond crime control. They are also full-fledged members of the community and bulwarks for social standards.

It was thought that such small communities would be independent enough to do without a police department, but it appears that the police can play a useful role if they reflect the customs and tolerance levels of the community. They would then be truly representative of the community. The police bring out the sense of belonging that people have for their community and for large organizations within it. They also provide support for safety-related issues. A relationship is thus created between the police and members of the community.

Based on this example, it can be said that the extent of the police role depends on the safety assessment made in the community. The limits are also identified by the actions taken by other stakeholders in social, education, health and community services. As some of these organizations relinquish part of their mandates, the police are called upon to fill the void, which may well expand their responsibilities. We were told that "the police were society's last line of defence". In this sense, police-community partnerships will help ensure the safety of all citizens.

Public safety means more than just crime control and law enforcement. It extends beyond what the police, the expert in public safety, represent. Indeed, actions aimed at solving problems are now added to the relatively well known crime prevention approaches discussed earlier. Not only are several partners involved in identifying the problem, but the solutions developed are sometimes far removed from the traditional methods used by the police. These solutions are intended to solve problems permanently by dealing with root causes.

Not long ago, the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Service managed to solve a problem that had caused many citizens to complain. Tenants in an apartment building were constantly calling the police about a noise they thought was coming from the neighbourhood. Police officers responded many times but they could never really get rid of the noise. It was later discovered that it was due to reverberation in the building piping system caused by a juke box located in a bar in the basement. After 25 police calls, it was proposed to change the location of the juke box.

In short, a partnership in the broadest sense of the word can include representatives from the justice system, health and social services, elected officials, shopkeepers, public, community and government organizations, volunteer organizations, churches and any other groups with a stake in the community. Partnerships vary based on the number of partners, the types of commitments and the objectives to be achieved. This means that access to partnerships must not be restricted. The level of cooperation between partners is considered key to the success of the partnership. A partnership must be constantly renewed. The mandate of a partnership could be defined by the following question: Can the partnership group develop and implement an action plan aimed directly at the problem (see Cook, Roehl, 1993)? Which means that a partnership must be capable of developing any initiatives that help improve the safety and general condition of the neighbourhood.

From a police point of view, the achievement and use of partnerships is a great example of how far the institution has already moved from its traditional role. Collaborative actions not only help define the role of the police as a self-sufficient organization, they also underscore the importance of community resources in addressing crime and related social problems.

In short

- It is essential to recognize that police work within the context of community policing goes beyond merely enforcing the law. Police officers take on other responsibilities such as getting involved in initiatives aimed at preventing crime and protecting citizens within the community.

- The knowledge and skills used by police officers in their work need to be recognized and supported by supervisors. Supervisors must recognize the complexity of police work and develop coaching or mentoring attitudes rather than simple supervisory skills.

- Ideally, the purpose of community policing is to encourage individuals to focus on specific targets and tactics. To develop these tactics, it is understood that the police will require true relationships with citizens, community groups, government organizations, local elected officials and large institutions.

- Police officers use new methods which are combined with the more traditional ones. Senior management, supervisors and training staff need to quickly take stock of these changes and respond accordingly.

- There is not one single format for police-community partnerships. Citizens need to get involved in the problems and solutions that affect their communities.

- A partnership with citizens is, for the most part, beneficial to the police. The effects of past and more recent actions bode well for the future. The police must stay on track. However, it has to be acknowledged that the attitudes and perceptions of police officers and managers must be changed through training methods consistent with police reality as well as the experience and skills of individuals.

- Focusing on the benefits the police can bring to the community and on collaborative approaches with citizens does not change the fact that police officers still have a law enforcement role to play. Consequently, there is a need to specify the level of involvement of the police in crime reduction activities, in collaborative crime prevention actions through social means and in partnerships aimed at ensuring safe communities consistent with the wishes of individual citizens.

Redefining Public Safety

On the one hand, police officers have to respond to the needs of citizens and communities. On the other, they have to enforce the law, eg. traffic laws, which usually generate funds. In other words, the crime-control aspect of police work ties in with community and prevention aspects. By keeping in contact with the community through partnerships, the police legitimize so to speak their grass roots approach. They encourage citizens and communities to speak out. Not surprisingly, carrying out these two roles at once generates adjustment conflicts within police departments and also with local elected officials, police commissions and other partners.

It is necessary to separate police missions from police organizations. According to Monjardet (1994), the police perform at least three missions. The first is keeping order. In that sense, they are a tool of the state used for control and protection. The second is conducting investigations. They are supported for that purpose by an intelligence network. The third covers daily police duties. It involves maintaining public peace and providing assistance. This is the mission closest to citizens. This report deals with the third mission.

Some of the interviewees stated that the police are making no real changes in moving towards community policing. Things are perceived this way: On the one hand, the people that have been in place for some time and have been trained in the old ways with different priorities are the ones who will go through the change in paradigm the police are now confronted with. This means that these people must be convinced of the soundness of this process, otherwise the change will only be cosmetic. On the other hand, community

policing is still seen by many as a marketing effort by the police. Community policing is indeed packaged so as to be attractive to elected officials and citizens alike. However, implementing its principles in daily police work will unavoidably lead to extensive restructuring in terms of operations and services, opportunities to identify and solve problems, even the ones that are politically sensitive, the ability to be the catalyst for specific actions and, finally, the capacity to achieve partnerships with communities and secure their support.

The police must be prepared to challenge the definition of their own role. If they fail to do so, they run the risk of getting trapped in their traditional role of enforcer or, for small police departments all over the country, issuers of speeding tickets.

It should be noted that few police departments have started to seriously question their roles and activities. Tradition, work habits, attitudes towards the public, training and culture all combine to make the police want to hold on to the status quo in the face of change. Two questions have to be answered when considering new police procedures: First, should a line be drawn between traditional policing and community-based policing, i.e. prevention, partnerships with communities and problem solving? Second, how far should the police go beyond their traditional role? The door is open to unavoidable changes that will affect the future of both the police and the public they serve.

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